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REPORT

OF THE

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[title page]

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the shore of the Pacific to 1792. As a result of this intercommunication between the Bilqula and Tsimsh it is found that known essentially similar to those of the Coast Salishan in mode of construction and ornamentation, though smaller and less skilfully built, occur far inland on the upper waters of the Salmon and Black-water Rivers; while, on the other hand, the practical identity of some points in the mythology of the Bilqula with that of the Tsimsh of the interior is a clear instance of widespread influences.

The second part of the report will be found to contain the most complete notes that for distance of anthropological measurements relating to the tribes of the North-West Coast, with a discussion by the author of the data which those afford, in which several points of value are brought out and important suggestions are made for further inquiry. In this connection it must be mentioned that the researches are much indebted to the courteous and enlightened liberality of Major J. W. Powell, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, who has permitted Dr. Boas to incorporate with the measurements obtained in British Columbia those made by him in Washington and Oregon under Major Powell's directions. It has thus been possible for Dr. Boas to give to his treatment of this subject a comprehensive character, which could not otherwise have been obtained, by enlarging the scope of his discussion so as to include the more or less intimately related tribes of the Pacific States with those of the Province of British Columbia itself.

Third Report on the Indians of British Columbia.
By Dr. Franz Boas.

104 The following alphabet has been used in the report:—

The vowels have their continental sounds, namely: *a*, as in *father*; *e*, like *a* in *mate*; *i*, as in *machine*; *o*, as in *note*; *u*, as in *rule*.

In addition the following are used: *ä*, *ö*, as in German; *ü* as in *how*; *ü* as in *house* (Lepsius's *q*).

Among the consonants the following additional letters have been used: *g'*, a very guttural *g*, similar to *gr*; *k'*, a very guttural *k*, similar to *kr*; *q*, the German *ch* in *buch*; *x*, the German *ch* in *ich*; *c*, between *s* and *x*; *sh* in *shoe*; *ç*, as *th* in *thin*; *ł*, an explosive *l*; *dł*, a palatal *l*, pronounced with the back of the tongue (*dorso-apical*).

THE BILQULA.

105 The Bilqula, who are generally called Bella Coola, are the most northern tribe belonging to the Salish family. They are separated from the tribes speaking allied languages by the Chilcotin (*of the Tsimsh stock*) in the interior, and on the coast by the Kwakiutl. Their language is—considered grammatically—more closely related to the dialects of the Coast Salish than to those of the tribes of the interior. A number of terms referring to the sea and sea-animals are the same in Bilqula and in the dialects of the Gulf of Georgia; so that we may safely assume that the two groups of tribes were at one time closely related, and that the Bilqula were differentiated from this group. They inhabit the coasts of Dentinck Arm and Dean Inlet, as shown on the map accompanying the sixth report of the committee, and 590 extend far up Bella Coola River. Since the end of last century they

[illegible]

[illegible] the land of the Bella Coolas. [illegible]

have detailed them to mention, and a few only of their then populous villages are still inhabited, namely, those on the head of Dean Inlet, Dsai'a'i, at the mouth of Dsiawa River; Waqa'lito (which embraces five villages at the mouth of Bella Coola River; Dsi'is, seventy-eight miles up Bella Coola River; and Ts'ets, at the head of South Bentinck Arm. The dialects of Dsai'a'i and these differ slightly from that of the other villages. The following is a list of their ancient villages, most of which are still inhabited at certain seasons, although not regularly :—

1. Skiaq.
2. Dsai'a'i. The tribe of this place is called Gwat-sen.
3. Waqa'lito, embracing the villages K'nukt'ats and Dsiki'ai on the north side, Ts'ets'aits and Dsiaqa'amukwai on the south side of the river.
4. Gwagit.
5. Tsaoo'ait.
6. Dsai'a'ath.
7. Ts'ets'aits.
8. Aut'saath.
9. Dsiki'ai-qaomits.
10. Tsqaomh'a'as.
11. Ts'ats'ahat.
12. Kuaiki'ig.
13. Dsi'is, seventy-eight miles from the sea.
14. Dsai'a'ihath. Nos. 6 to 14 are situated along Bella Coola River, and are given as they are met with in ascending the river.
15. Gits'aqit, at the confluence of Bella Coola and Dean (?) Rivers.
16. Ts'ets, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, embracing K'nai'ya, Ts'ets, Dsi'ai', A'ats.
17. K'nai'ya, at the bay of that name in the southern extremity of Bentinck Arm. On the north extremity of Bentinck Arm were the K'ito'ait, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Bilqula or to the Ha'thuk. The latter call the people of Dean Inlet K'nukwaiq.

Each of these tribes is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups. I learnt the names of the following gentes, which bear the names of their ancestors :—

Gentes of the Waqa'lito :

1. Tsk'ai'is (=looking down on his family).
2. Sqwaqwai'lnoq ; Qa'mutsas name : Ma'kayhaik (see p. 411).
3. Skaiqala'aq.
4. K'a'lsiqk'aas.
5. Ts'ets.

Gentes of the Nuk'a'laimux :

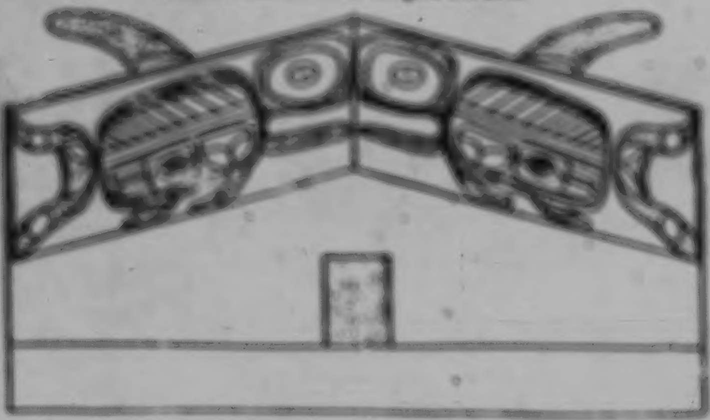
1. T'ak'aoosd'ak.
2. K'aiqsk'a'ak.
3. ?

Gentes of the Tsic'aux :

1. Isk'aiaaskit (=making good fire) ; Qa'mutsas name : T'i'i'aatskit (=a cave protecting from rain).
2. Sqaiat'ih.
3. Tsaoqat'skyaa.
4. Ha'atsik.

The evidence which I can present regarding the laws of intermarriage is the following: I inquired of [illegible] ([illegible]), a member of the [illegible] gens, whether he might marry a [illegible] woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

Fig. 1.—House front of the gens [illegible].



Members of the first two gentes, he explained later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

Fig. 2.—House front of the gens [illegible], representing the [illegible].

this by stating that [illegible]'s son married [illegible]'s daughter, and that consequently the two gentes were related to each other.

6/4 The gentes have crests similar to those of the neighbouring coast

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tribes. The crest is represented in paintings on the house-front and on dancing implements.

The gons Tlō'ut is has a killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) painted on the house-front (fig. 1). The tradition says that the ancestor of this gens

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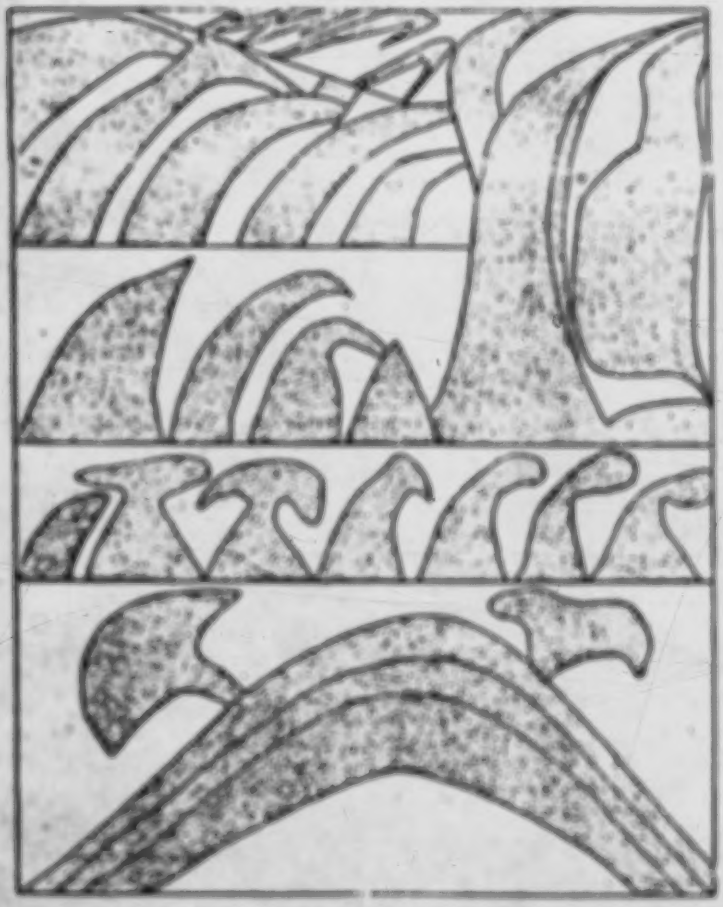
FIG. 1.—Crest of the gens Tlō'ut, showing the mountain-hawk, with two clouds near its mouth; above a rainbow; sky.



one day, when hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer was painted. The chief who lived in the house invited him and presented him with his crest for himself and for his descendants. The crest consists of the killer-whale, eagle, crow, and bear.

The crests of all gentes were obtained in the manner

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The gens Spalsti'lh have bearskins painted on the house-front, and use in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (k'wate), of the crow, and of the black bear.

The gens Temqsk'akyas use the mask of Oxsemitl'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ab'amut'et of the Nuk'a'lamux use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Isk'aiamtt of the Talo'mx use the raven, robin (mo'a'gme'), eagle, whale, the bird t'ca'ciala (goose?), and q'alal'ats, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the cane'cats suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Hel'el has the name Hsal'ax (=the north wind). He has the mountain Sawt'lmt surrounded by a rainbow sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on the house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the decision being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisaa'ks, and the Ka'wit. The Sisaa'ks corresponds to the Tlnla'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Ka'wit to the Ts'ets'a'ts'a. The Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Q!a'xsilas, to whose cave the warrior is intrested. He resides with the others in a beautiful

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Q!a'xsilas.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Q!emq!emtl'a'xis.

house in the far west, and rules all evil energy warring when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

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are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. To the K!wā'xit three deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. Qā'aiōtsa and Qmoqwaxā'ulis wear the design of the full moon, indicated in the mask Qā'aiōtsa (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Qmoqwaxā'ulis has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Aiomā'likya (fig. 6) and Aiomaā'ulis (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent, drawn

FIG. 6.—Mask representing Aiomā'likya.

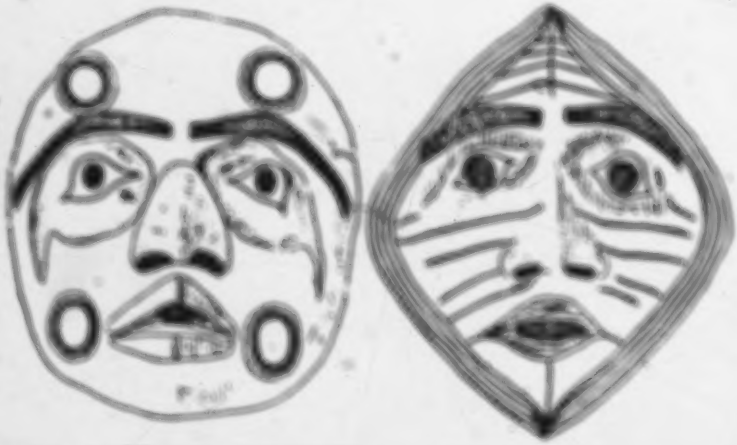
FIG. 7.—Mask representing Aiomaā'ulis.

in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K!wāk!wāk!ā'ya, and K!ā'xsōtsa have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K!wā'qwa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, K!ai'lins (=who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, Ai'ami'l wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a hemlock blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Tl'aiā'qāxtlaxa (=the eater), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bladder filled with grease (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Dsaxā'xa, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of guests, is presided over by a being that lives in the sea. A man who had gone out hunting met the Dsaxā'xa, and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean their houses, and to strew them with clean sand, before he ventured to enter. Then he danced the Dsaxā'xa, and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with

575 773 776 796 tuals of cowries skins, and to swing curved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sea. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisaok'a. Besides this it is stated that the Heaven gave each gens its secrets.

FIG. 8.—Mask representing K'wak'wakai'lag'a. FIG. 9.—Mask representing K'wic'qoloa.



931 575 776

619 632 922 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisaok'a only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the sacred pieces.

FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kuk'kus. FIG. 11.—Mask representing Dzoxoqoloa.

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634 782 One of each gens. All genius, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the above rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

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614 532 422 556 [567] [848] [115] 614 424 551 556 575 424 575 614 [426] 556 426 575 773 776

ment. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisaⁿ'kᴇ. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nesk'ᴇ-la'als, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Ialo'stimōt of the Talio'mx, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kū'siūt name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qē'mtsiqa name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nesk'ela'sta's (which is his Kū'siūt name) assumed Qē'mtsiqa name is Atl'itlxaⁿ'lxa'sᴇix, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kalia'k!a. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kū'siūt names of the tribes. In two cases only the Qē'mtsiqa names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisaⁿ'kᴇ secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisaⁿ'kᴇ secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisaⁿ'kᴇ secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisaⁿ'kᴇ carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burned it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kū'siūt is presided over by a female spirit, called Anᴇ̄lik!ūtsal'ᴇ. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anᴇ̄lik!ūtsal'ᴇ invited her into her cave and taught

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575 her the secrets of the Kū'siōt. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kū'siōt. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kū'siōt.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kū'siōt. When a man has
776 seen Amaēlikūtsai'a sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kū'siōt. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the tabu house. Each Kū'siōt lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kū'siōt are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as in the case with the Sisaū'ka dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[424] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the Kū'siōt is obtained through
575 an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kū'siōt name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kū'siōt names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of T'ak'ō'ell. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[554] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisaū'ka, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kū'siōt have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] tlaqō'tla (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ō'lēq (the Nū'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dā'tla (the Nū'nsintatl of the Hē'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kū'siōt novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the tlaqō'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any-
one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[246] killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqō'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqō'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the tlaqō'tlis dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large head-ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some tlaqō'tlis do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The tlaqō'tlis has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house. 575 [774] [756] [292] [301]

The Ō'lēq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tis (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'lēq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people with his nails. The Dā'tis carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ōlēq and the Dā'tis must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses. [785]

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kō'sōt, for instance when the tlaqō'tlis gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. 575 688

The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Kō'sōt are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqulā'tsmem, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qō'mōqōa and his brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Mesmamlā'eiq and his fellows, the raven and the Nuqō'mta, and many others. 575 532 796 [776]

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro- 844

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844 [846] [845] ironical midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go near the room for a year (according to Nuk'xlx'ats, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 [852] [854] The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Kō'aiit, when it is given its Kō'aiit name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qō'mtaiks name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat, which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She must not chew gum or eat snow (see *Fifth Report of Committee*, 1889, p. 638).

[292] [824]

[345] [261]

584 [831] If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and

[527] [302] 585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been

[831] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sūsx'ĕt secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.

[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children.

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be.

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they observe four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, observing new trees every day. Moreover they cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones.

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or chetlem. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person.

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was the same as giving away the house of the deceased.'

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to

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what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Snq, the sun-god (compare *sûnq*, sun). The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called Tsat'as. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the following formulæ: *Ailkun ûlô'tlnq, Tsat'as*, 'Look on us where we are going, Tsat'as;' and *Tsat'as, atlkmaltnomdô'tlq*, 'Take care of us, Tsat'as.' Snq is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Masmasalá'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Masmasalá'niq, Yula'timot, Matlapê'eqoek, and Itl'itlu'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Masmasalá'niq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Masmasalá'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *nusqê'mta* (*nu-ta*=place of, *sqê'm*=the day is dawning). The *nusqê'mta* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *nusqê'mta*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Masmasalá'niq said: 'Let us make men.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Matlapê'eqoek and Itl'itlu'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Yula'timot carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Masmasalá'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Masmasalá'niq and his brothers still continue to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Masmasalá'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been reserved to above.

The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ô'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Ma'tem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *smk*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:—

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their

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726 hair with white eagle-down. Warriors when on a war party must not
[714] drink more than four mouthfuls of water, else they would be killed. A
watchman was appointed in each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing
[291] near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number
of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early
in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village utter-
ing their war cry 'wai!' They took a stand at the fire which burned
in the centre of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in
taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then
727 they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children
along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the houses burnt,
and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had
taken along were then scalped, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole.
When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each
canoe and swung the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all
sang songs, in which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were
valued the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used in the
Sisaun'ku.

648 The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest.
726 About thirty or forty years ago there was a famine at Bella Coola. The
people went overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tenaqtaq, a
[731] tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fish there. The Tenaqtaq made fun of them,
took from them the fish they caught, tore the blankets from the backs of
the women, and seduced many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned
home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the
Tenaqtaq. The Tsimsh joined them in this expedition. They crossed the
mountains in four days. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent
two spies in advance, who were to count the number of houses in the
village of the Tenaqtaq. Early in the morning they attacked the houses
and killed a great many men. The Tenaqtaq could not escape, as they
were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives,
lances, and stone axes. They took away the clothes of the women,
leaving them naked, and subjected them to shameful insults in revenge
for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt
the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Talio'mx were attacked by the
Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nuqa'lkx, but the raven,
according to the narrator, changed their mind, as he always protects the
village of Nuqa'lkx. They came in many canoes, while most of the
Talio'mx were at the lake, which is situated above that town, fishing.
Four men were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and
women had also remained at home. The father of Nusk'alx'ala, who told
me of these events, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by
his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The
[712] village of Talio was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which
consisted of a double row of palisades crowned with thorns. At each
corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower.
Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy
while being themselves protected. At that time the Talio'mx had only
four guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the
village was well fortified. The Talio'mx had seen the canoes coming and
were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be
able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.

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They resolved to make an attempt to burn it and to break open the door. On the following day they came up to the village, but the guard on the towers used their guns to such good effect that the enemy had to retreat with severe losses. They made still another attempt, but with no better success. They had lost many men, while only two old men of the Talio'mx, Tsanxi'akyas and A'lk'ins by name, and one woman had been hurt. The latter had been killed. When the Kwakiutl turned back a messenger was at once sent up to the lake to call the young men, who then went to Nuqa'lkx to ask for help. The Kwakiutl passed close to Nesk'ia'sta's father's canoe, but they were so terrified by the losses they had sustained that they passed by without so much as noticing it. Two of their number were so ashamed of their defeat that they would rather remain in the enemy's country than return with their friends, and they stayed ashore. Meanwhile the Talio'mx and the Bilqula were pursuing the fugitives. They had reached the outlet of Bentinck Arm without overtaking them. Then their chiefs resolved to return, as they believed that their enemies had a long start upon them. Later on they learnt that the Kwakiutl were at that moment only a few miles from them, about to continue their homeward journey, after having encamped at the outlet of the channel. Afterwards the Talio'mx found the two men who had remained ashore. They called them and promised to send them back to their friends, saying that the war had ended, and that they had no grudge against them. The men were, however, too much afraid, and finally starved to death.

Later on the Talio'mx and Bilqula organized an expedition against the Kwakiutl to take revenge for the unprovoked attack. A chief named Kxani'la, whose father was a Talio'mx, while his mother was a Kwakiutl, was their leader. They intended to attack the La'kwiltok' and the Kwe'k!xi'tmx. When they approached the village of the latter they sent a canoe ahead to search for the village, and to report the number of houses. For two days they were unable to find the village, which lies in a labyrinth of islands; but finally they found it, and saw that it consisted of sixteen houses. On the next morning they attacked it. The tribe was wholly taken by surprise and almost all of them were killed. Kxani'la's mother lived at this place, and when she heard the Bilqula coming she asked at once for her son, and was taken care of by him. Only five men and four women escaped. The Bilqula allowed these to run away, as they had killed as many as they desired. Anakxi'lxem, a chief of the Sixqtle'mk, was the only man of the Bilqula who was wounded. He died on the way home. They returned, but in the country of the Na'kwartok' they were overtaken by four Kwakiutl canoes which pursued them. The Bilqula were victorious, but Kxani'la induced them to desist. During the fight two of the women, whom they had taken as slaves, and one boy jumped overboard, and were rescued by the Kwakiutl.

Medicine.

Boils are treated by cauterization with dry bark or with gunpowder. Sometimes a series of parallel cuts is made over swellings or boils. Fractured bones are set, and fastened between splints of cedar-bark.

Ointments of shark oil or chicken oil are given by means of a kelp tube, with a mouthpiece made of the wing-bone of an eagle. Snake poison is collected and used as a poison. Women wear tight anklets "to prevent

751 Women wear tight anklets to prevent
the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
491 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
824 burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

177 It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
551 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
556 are almost a copy of those of the Heiltsuk'. This influence has been so
575 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
776 gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
771 the name Alemk!ikya (see p. 413) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all
over the world.' K'tmk'umk!ikya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning
'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Mā'lakyilaīl (see p. 409)
belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Mamaēmk!aiq
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awiky'-
ē'nem, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]